1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

301 type, termed *taumanoa*, consisted of small fishhook shanks of pearl shell alternating with pieces of pearl shell cut into other shapes, strung on a cord of sinnet. There is no example of the *taumanoa* on the atoll today, but Talainga reported that he saw in the mistakenly opened grave pieces of pearl shell cut into the shape of five-pointed stars which he suggested belonged to an old *taumanoa*.

301 643 The pearl-shell breast ornament (*yasa*) shown in figure 19,*b*, is the most valued type of permanent ornament. It was formerly worn by the chief for ceremonial occasions. The formal placing of the *yasa* round the neck of an aspirant to a vacant title signified that he was the chosen man. Skinner (24,p.187), in discussing pearl-shell pendants in the Cook Islands, suggests that these pendants may have been attached to the head by plaiting the uncut hair of the wearer. In support of this theory he reproduces from Gill (10,pl.p.18) a section of the plate entitled, "A Village in Pukapuka under Heathenism." Whatever the validity of the scene purported to be shown in this plate, informants knew of no custom of attaching ornaments to uncut hair, nor is there any record of crescentic pearl-shell ornaments being attached to arms, torso, or sides of the head.

Ear Ornaments

301 304 Ear ornaments are termed *nuhaevaevanga*. The ear lobes of an infant are pierced with a hook of the sword fish or a spine of the pandanus leaf. A piece of *puhaua* wood is pushed through the hole and left until it heals, to prevent closing. There is no record of lobe distension by pushing bulky or heavy articles through the lobe holes. Earrings consist of small rings of coconut shell (*nuhaevaevanga ngaipu talinga*) or else more elaborate earrings of coconut shell, turtle shell, and pearl shell. The earring illustrated (fig.19,*e*) is beautiful when polished. Informants stated that the design was an old one and could be executed with old time Pukapukan implements. Simple ear ornaments are made by pushing the stem of a *tiale* flower through the lobe hole. Another ornament called *hahelini* is made by levering off with the thumb nail the floral bract (*hahelini*) of the immature coconut, pinching the bract together to make a short slit. The slit is then placed against the lobe of the ear, and when the fingers are released the lobe is pinched by the natural spring of the bract.

Head Ornaments

301 Simple head ornaments are made by pushing flowers into the hair or binding the hair with strips of pandanus or coconut leaflet. A flower so worn is a *pihi*; a headband is a *putihi*. More elaborate headbands are made by splitting the flower and seed containers (*kaupua*) of the pandanus tree

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The *lopa*, *tane*, and *uuvine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *matiovake* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of talo from the women and by fish caught by the men's *tunganga* fishing group.

All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *ononga* (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

It is related that long before the time of Tuiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 391.) Tuiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*alihi wolo*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te alihi wolo o Te Ulu-o-te-matu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

te wui aliki (the many chiefs). The remainder of the community were without rank and were simply called *te hau* or *te tama* (the people or the children). The chief's executive (*wolo*) was next in rank to the supreme chief, but his position was not hereditary. Informants stated that each of the several subordinate chiefs had an executive (*wolo*) to advise him. These sub-executives were the oldest men (*tupele*) of the several villages and chiefly lineages and shared priestly functions with the minor chiefs whom they served. It is possible, however, that informants were unconsciously magnifying the former status of minor chiefs in order to glorify their own lineages; or else they were generalizing about the status of these chiefs in terms of a particular historical set-up when a minor chief may have assumed some of the powers which properly belonged solely to the supreme chief of the island.

Another ranking official sometimes spoken of was the *yula*, a name which appears only in connection with Tuiva, who acted as a sort of regent or supreme head of the island during an interregnum in the line of the high chief. It is possible, however, that the *yula* was formerly a high-ranking peace officer, deputy to the chief, without priestly functions. Informants are unclear as to his position at times other than during the regency of Tuiva.

The chiefly set-up in former times varied from that of today.. Formerly, probably up to the time of white contact, the chiefs of the island were:

Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Maliwata	One aliki (chief), one langatila (sub-chief)
	Matanga	One aliki, one langatila
Loto	i Tui	One aliki wolo (supreme chief), one langatila
	Yangalipula	One langatila
Yato	Yalongo	One aliki, one langatila
	Yamaunga	One langatila
	Yayi	One langatila

This gives a total of one supreme chief, three other chiefs, and seven sub-chiefs. The number of sub-chiefs (*langatila*) may at times have been larger, because a powerful paternal sub-lineage could well have claimed the right to nominate its own minor chiefs. No record survives to enable this question to be settled. With white contact and the control of the island by a resident agent and nominated council, changes have been made in the number and names of the chiefs. The Cook Islands term *matuapo* has been introduced as a name for the minor chief. The present set-up includes one supreme chief (*aliki wolo*), seven other chiefs (*matuapo*), and four sub-chiefs (*langatila*):

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Village	Paternal Lineage	Chiefs
Ngake	Muliwutu	Two matpiapo, one langatila
	Matanga	Two mataiapo
Loto	i Tua	One aliki wolo, one langatila
	Yangalipule	One mataiapo
Yato	Yalongo	Two mataiapo
	Yamaunga	Two langatila

Informants are confused today over the former status of the high chief and the other chiefs. The following description seems to have applied both to the high chief and to the chiefs of the other lineages; it excludes the sub-chiefs (*langatila*) who seem to have been more executive officers of the major chiefs than chiefs with status in their own right. Some informants believed that the chiefs were regarded as the fathers of the people and were approached by anyone at any time without ceremony or violation of tapu; that they were tapu only when they visited the sacred structures (*aumanga*) of their lineage gods to seek some favor from the gods.

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Majority opinion holds, however, that the chief was sacred from the time he was inducted into office on the sacred structure of his lineage. During youth and boyhood, he, like his siblings, was without tapu and mixed freely with the other young people of the island. The personal conduct of the chief was above criticism. Should anyone dare to reproach him, he cursed the impertinent one with the power of his lineage gods and caused him to fall sick.

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The house of the chief was divided into two parts. There was no formal dividing wall or screen, but the division was well understood by the chief's family. On one side slept the chief and his wife; on the other side, his children and other household members. His house was not more pretentious than other houses of the village, but was of the ordinary *nakoyamoa* house type with coconut leaf wall screens. The chief entered from any side, but the family might enter only from their own end of the house. The chief ate with the rest of the household. His clothes were made by the women of the household. His old malos and sleeping mats were thrown into the sea, because they had become tapu through contact with his body. There were special death observances for the chief (p. 302).

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In front of the chief's house was a reserved open place where he rested. Only the name of the resting place of the supreme chief is remembered. It was called Te Ulu-takapau and was situated in front of the present supreme chief's residence in Loto, covering part of the present road and adjacent land. The chief had a reserved bathing beach; that of the supreme chief was in front of Te Ulu-takapau, and was called Te Ava-o-te-waka-takelenga-aliki (Channel-for-the-chief's-bathing). At this beach, which includes the only piece of deep water on the lagoon frontage of Loto village,

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . ." without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakahowvale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite. From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale yo o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

The sacred maid wore a gaudiness kilt dyed red with the juice of *wale* berries, a headband of *wale* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki fakio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Oi", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*una*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te tui*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:

Kia[a] wai mafi wanio	Let the clusters of nuts be full (?)
Kia wowolo te wawa	Let the talo tubers grow big
Kia tuteugatanga	(Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Spoken to the god (that he may answer this request)
Kia matolo te ika	Let the fish be numerous
Kia yi ki te tai	Let (foods) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten)
Ke ale te wawa	Until the land stinks
Kawa ye ki tangata	Countless the feasts for the people

After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koa tayain wau koe ki mua" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leowi* or *tauie*). She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *fetus* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as eels; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yiouga ola* (not to be confused with *yiouga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was taga to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked on it to show herself (*uakeyeni*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[a] Kia, an archaic particle used in petitioning responses to the god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 might walk behind her provided they showed her the respect due her status
643 by walking with uplifted palms.

The life of the *mayakitanga* seems to have been monotonous. No man ventured near her sacred house, let alone dared to sleep with her, even if he could. Any trespass against her house or her person was punished by the gods of her lineage with sickness and death. When she came from her house to bathe, all the men retired either to their houses or to the bush, and she bathed in privacy with her guardians. Only when she went abroad to show herself or to go to the sacred enclosure was it permissible for the populace to be about her. A *mayakitanga* had no choice but to be a sacred maid, once she was dedicated, until she died. If she outlived the chief who made her *mayakitanga*, she was still treated with every respect. The new chief might appoint a new *mayakitanga* from his own generation, and there were then two sacred maids living in the special house at the same time. The older sacred maid might, with the passage of years, informally retire from her position. She never married, though she might participate more in the everyday life of the community.

Informants have no knowledge today of special religious duties of the *mayakitanga*. Her special function was to act as a prestige symbol for the chief and his lineage. She was considered a great "pet" of the lineage, *e makamamia te mayakitanga* (beloved was the sacred maid). It was a great
613 honor for any girl to be chosen as *mayakitanga*. Though no ordinary
643 woman might set foot in a voyaging canoe, the presence of a sacred maid in such a canoe was greatly desired:

562 When a big deep-sea voyage was made by members of a lineage, the sacred maid accompanied the voyagers as an honored passenger. The priests of the lineage consulted the gods of the lineage beforehand and received permission from them for the sacred maid to join the expedition. The sacred maid apparently possessed no special technique by which to calm storms or avert other dangers. Her beneficent presence in the canoe evoked extra efforts from the god of the lineage to protect his subjects. Having given permission for her to go in the canoe, the god of the lineage was honor bound to protect her from danger, and thus also the crews of the canoes. She was the symbol of the power and dignity of the lineage, and the protection accorded her also embraced the men of her lineage. As a proof of this, informants said that the voyages undertaken by Mafiwutu lineage without the protection of their sacred maid all ended in disaster, whereas the voyages of Matanga lineage, invariably made with the sacred maid, were always successful.

SUCCESSION TO CHIEFLY TITLE

613 Title to chiefly rank descended in known paternal lineages, subject to veto
643 by the people of the lineage:

597 The line of descent was from father to son. Where there was no direct male issue, the title lay dormant until male issue appeared or else it passed to a brother of the late chief, or to an adopted son (*ao hakoti*) of the late chief, who was his brother's or sister's son. Adoption always provided an heir, if there was no male issue. A woman

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yano*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yano*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanaro* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever indorsed as chief.

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Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

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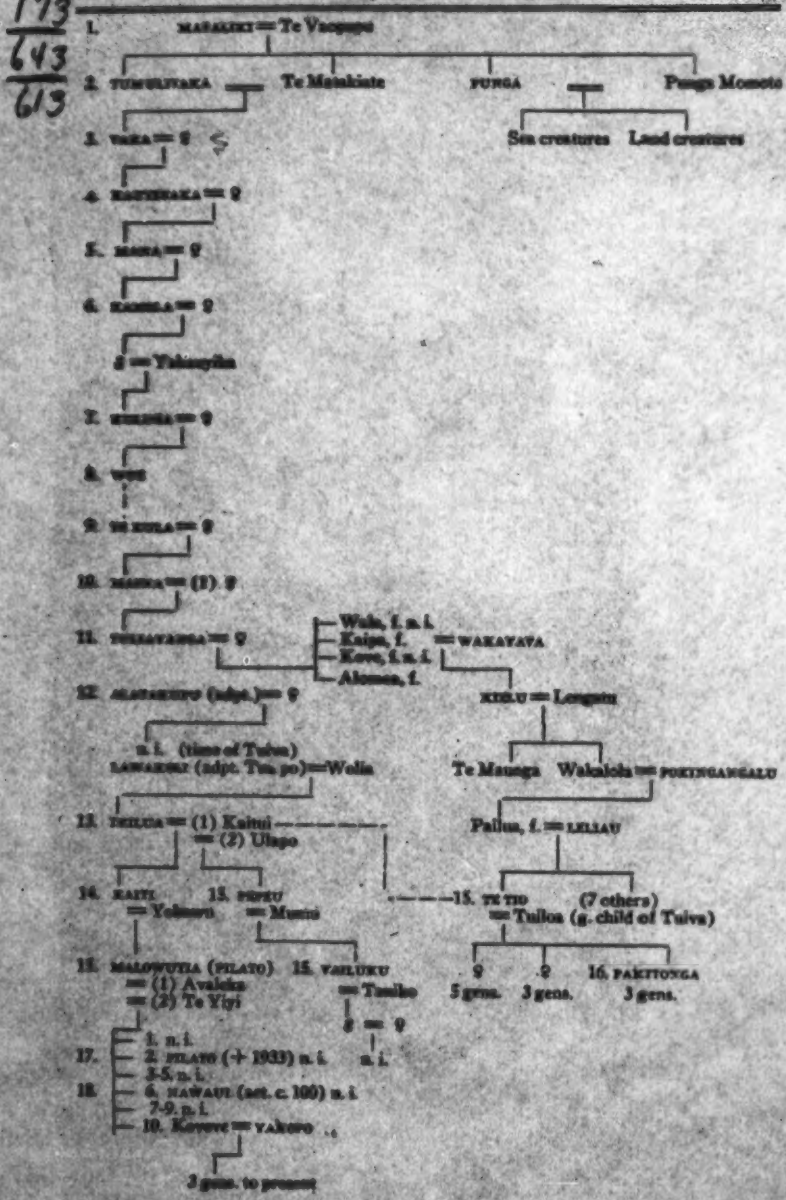
The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakmeylin, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakmeylin herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakmeylin could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakmeylin chose Kai, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kai took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *kapa* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear down and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kai struck them in rapid succession, shattering with his sword every leaf before it touched the ground.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Table 4. Aliki Succession



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The members of Kamola's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakauyika's nominee. Yakauyika named Kuluea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuluea was her son by Kamola's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamola, or by another husband.

713

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamaliki, probable son of Kamola.

The seventh chief, Kuluea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevans sent by the chiefs of Yayaku (p. 381). Wue, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wangusa assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, tapu-breaking, and debauchery which was finally ended by the great seismic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wangusa was contemporary with Wue, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wangusa rose to authority because of Wue's absence.

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Te Kula, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*pawa sosa*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupu succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupu was fresh in their minds.

Taiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tulia-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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yanga, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Aistakapa. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[622] Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Ulago, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manilikii castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Mesua) also had traces of Manilikii blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manilikians), who then was the executive officer (yuki), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Matuliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amiable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

[721] When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 through marriages or adoptions several generations back. Feeling is that the
643 matter will have to be decided by the native Land Court.
642 Ngake genealogies of the chiefs of Muliwutu and Matanga lineages were given me in confidence, informants fearing that if given publicly, rivals to the title succession would know before the Court sat what case would be put up on behalf of the Ngake claimants.

613 The succession to title in these Ngake genealogies follows the same general rules as succession to the title of supreme chief. Where there was no blood child to succeed him, the chief nominated an heir from other lines of the paternal lineage. One chief of Ngake affiliated with Loto village after his induction to the title. No reason is given for this, but as it was at the time of first missionary contact, it is possible that he became converted and took up residence near the mission. He could not carry the title with him to Loto, so the people of his lineage chose another man from a related sub-lineage and inducted him as chief. When this chief was about to die, he requested the son of the convert to come back and affiliate with Ngake. This the son did, and when the chief died, the succession passed to the convert's son and has continued since down this paternal lineage. Another sub-lineage in this grouping lays claim to the title of chief, but because the rainbow never appeared in the sky when its candidate laid claim to the title, the line is considered a chiefly line only under protest from the other sub-lineages of the grouping.

INDUCTION TO CHIEFTAINSHIP

613 Induction to chieftainship took place on the sacred enclosure of the lineage.
643 All the people gathered outside the enclosure to watch the proceedings:
787 Dressed in the costume of a priest of the lineage, wearing the appropriate headdress and body covering, the chief-elect was lifted on high and carried to the threshold of the sacred enclosure by the men of his lineage. At the threshold he was met by the priests and minor chiefs of the lineages, all dressed in the appropriate costumes of their own gods. This group of priests and chiefs conducted the chief-elect inside the enclosure and up to the sacred stone (*aau*). The chief crouched or rested on a stone seat (*potu*) placed in front of the sacred stone. He tied a coconut leaf decoration (*lakei*) to the sacred stone and then prayed silently to the god of the lineage for a successful and prosperous reign, for nuts, taro, and fish in abundance, for strong teeth for his people and for their vigorous old age, unmarred by grey hairs on their heads. The god thereupon sent a sign that he had heard and was favorable to the request. An appropriate sign was for the flesh of the chief to break out in goose flesh. A subjective state leading to hysteria or trance was also considered a favorable sign from the god. After the sign had been noticed by the assembled priests, the chief walked to the gate of the enclosure. As he stepped over the threshold, the people of his lineage rushed forward and carried him on high, back to his house or his resting place. This completed the induction proper, and thenceforth the chief was a taga person, taking no part in sports or economic activities.

[826] A distribution (*lauhaau*) of nuts took place immediately after the induction, and all the people waited to receive their share.

If the reign of the new chief was good and prosperous, the people knew they had correctly interpreted the sign of the god. The rainbow test for the chief of Muliwutu was considered an infallible preinduction test; but the other lineages had to depend on future events to tell them whether they had

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Tuna, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be summarized as follows:

Village meetings (*unhaponu kale*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*unhaponunga o te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*unhaponunga o te uui ahihi*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te tunanga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te taiatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuiayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

I am an old man and can not fight any more." The power of the aging chief was such that the canoes were easily hurried away from Pukapuka. It is impossible to state to what Pacific island the name Yiva refers.

Further Bloodshed

The time of Alatakupu, twelfth chief, was one of much bloodshed and petty violence. Alatakupu himself seems to have been rather a brutal character, though whether his delight in instigating killings was due to blood lust or mere deviltry is not known. Pukapukans today do not analyze what must have been a complex character, but the chief's violent death is evidence that those of his time considered him vicious. It would seem that during his reign the class of old men, who had equal powers in the government of the island with the chief, was invaded by a younger group of men from the age grade next below, who set up a petty tyranny. Their food was provided by the efforts of the still younger group of adult men (*lopa*). Being of vigorous mind and having much time and energy on their hands, the old men apparently plotted how best they might lord it over the people of the island. In this they were undoubtedly supported by the chief, who seems privately to have encouraged the young men to rebel against the older group and then openly insisted that the older group of men punish the younger men for their insubordination. The story of the young men of Yato, with the final killing of a man named Malotini, illustrates the violence of the time:

The immediate cause of the trouble between the young men and the old men was food division. The fishing group of young men, the *tangonga*, brought back turtle and other fish for the old men to divide among all the people. The old men apparently ate all the fish themselves and then made disparaging remarks about the quality of the fish provided by the young men. This went on for some time until the young men became so enraged that they took every opportunity grossly to insult their elders and finally decided to defy what they considered the injustice of the old men's rule by going to the reserves to fish and get nuts for themselves. It says much for the undermining of constituted authority at this time that such an idea could have entered their minds, because it meant violation of both secular and supernormal sanctions. Alatakupu encouraged the young men to do this, but as soon as they had left Wale, he consulted the old men and urged them to put an end to the rebellious young men. The chief assisted the punitive expedition by requesting his goddess Tasa to blind the young men so they would be an easy match for the old men. He also placed at the disposal of the old men the services of two of his strongest warriors, named Kaleva-motu and Te Vasa. Various groups of men from the other villages joined the old men's party. As most of the men on the reserves were from Yato, men from other villages conceived this a good time to pay off old scores against their Yato rivals.

The old men landed on Motu Kotawa. The Yato rebels fell easy victims to the larger group; all save Te Keli and Nuanua, who escaped back to Wale along the reef, and a third, older man named Malotini, who was away on a long fishing trip. The old men paddled back to Wale and commenced a search for the missing two men. They found Nuanua near the cemetery of his lineage. He was armed and called on his gods to protect him when he saw the armed group approach. The older men were intimidated by Nuanua's fierce bearing and hung back from the engagement, but some young men from Ngake, enraged beyond endurance by his taunts, rushed forward and finally killed him. Te Keli was similarly killed.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 579 761 Meantime Malotini was seen coming back from his fishing. He suspected no trouble and was unarmed. He was caught by the old men and hustled off to his cemetery. A grave was dug for him and he was stood near it. The old men refused him permission either to don his death malo and pearl-shell ornaments, even though his father was hurrying toward the place with them in his hands, or to embrace his parents and his cousin-in-avoidance, all of which might have made death easier. They roughly pushed him into his grave and buried him alive. His family composed a lament over the death of the young man. It is a good example of the use of clipped metaphor and 533 allusive reference so characteristic of all Pukapukan chants. The parents and brothers of Malotini address both Malotini and the killers in the various phrases that make up the o'lea dirge:

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Mate ma te tama e,
Tamate tapuapu ki matua e,
Ko mauiti kupu i matua e, kupe ma ne vae.

Tino pauhifa, pe vave, pauke vau mai tai pae—

Tiaki te kahai matua, no kotou na vale,
E tangata kotou i te kotou tangata,
Wiiti vau mai ki a koe te pauhifa o te tokanga
o te wai maitangata,
Koe ngaue koe, e ale koteu i te pou te.

Te yiloo tuia vaveali ke te matamatangi—

Ke wakaiakaeka ke lafo,
Ke wakaeapapapa ate koe ki Malivae.
E tuku vavale, e tuku tuiua,
Akee wakaiakaia mai koe ke te wale nuna.

Ne patuu ke koee o Tafikai.

Tamaki koe pe Wakai,
Ke pe koe ne wakinaga o tangata o te nuu
Yamua.
Koe pou koe te tuhi au i te tiki o Tiki na
patuu,
Ko te valea o Te Palo pe tuhi.
Tamai au e tangatapapa wakamamaeya
Wakamakinaga i te kainga ma te koee ne te e
koteu ma te vale koke koteu.
E akee tuiua, ke vave akee au pe Uyo,
Ke akee tuki ave i na ngaue lakaka e
Yakeke ake, ooiaeva.
Koe toka me te wkinagalo o koi tangata?

Slave, bleeding,
We cry out to the island,
The soul buried to the eyes, buried also the
feet.
Gentle body, never fussing, who simply walked
along the beach here—
The old people waited, it was their time,
You old men cry for your men,
They turn to you the youngest of the friends
of all the mature men,
You are lost, you whose penis I want to eat,
you of the main post in the god house,
Your barbed tail (?), turn to the direction of
the winds—
You [illegible] swell
They forced you over to Malivae ceremony.
Oh, my vaginal secretions, oh, my brother,
My thoughts are filled with you in your god
house.
They killed you in the middle of the place
Tafikai.
You smelled like Wakai,[1]
They don't punish the wrongdoers (?) of the
people of the Samoas.
Your story comes in (follows) the story of
Tiki who was killed.
The canoe of Te Palo sailed swiftly.[2]
Here I am waiting, sighing.
Make known the lineage and the group which
killed you and your happy group.
O my brother, if only I were strong as Uyo,[3]
So that I might beat those insulting mouths
So hard that they become unconscious.
Your desire (O old men), to kill people has
subsided, has it not?

173 579 642 669 It seems that the killing of the young men of Yato was not an isolated event but that several of these apparently senseless killings occurred at different times—so that the people of Wale began to fear that soon all the young men would be killed off. One time when Alatakupu and a few of his friends went to Motu Ko for a few days' fishing, the people of Wale got together and decided to end Alatakupu's reign. They prayed for the assistance of Tuna and then hurried over to Ko before their resolution should fail. They landed on the islet and butchered all the old men they could find. They came across two warriors of Manihiki blood, bodyguards of Alatakupu, named Tualangi and Pallon. These two men prayed to their Manihiki gods to protect them when they saw the war party coming. But they were captured. A piece of sennit was twisted about their necks and pulled tight to strangle them. Twice the sennit broke; but the third time the protection of the Manihiki gods deserted them. At this moment Alatakupu rushed on the scene. His eyesockets were always big, but now in his rage at finding his people in revolt against his rule his eyes were enormous and bloodshot; they blazed with anger like two burning embers in his face. Shouting the name of Tuna to help him, Alatakupu rushed to strike down the men of Wale. They drew back in fear, but

[1] A character in a popular story.
[2] A reference to the epic journeys of Te Palo between Nassau and Pukapuka. Secondary symbolism obscure.
[3] A man of gigantic stature and strength.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 Alatakupu's adopted son called out: "Why are you afraid, O men of Wale? This man
579 has killed many of your sons and friends. Spare him and he will kill many more, includ-
643 ing you here for being rebels." Then he ran back up to Alatakupu and struck him in
669 the face with a club. His son seized the half-stunned chief by the neck and throat. Friends from Wale renewed their courage. They placed a cord round the chief's neck and forthwith strangled him to death. People were so angry with his body, even dead, that they refused to allow it to be taken back to Wale for burial in the chief's cemetery. The body was left on Motu Ko and buried, along with the bodies of some of the old men, in a lone grave in the middle of the village of Te A.

When all had returned to Wale, the people in meeting decided to wipe out the stock of Alatakupu, root and branch. All his direct male relatives, without exception, including even suckling babes, were hunted out and strangled; their bodies thrown away.

There was thus left no male issue to succeed to the title. It was decided to wait until later years when a distant female relative of the main line might give birth to a male child before making another appointment to the position of chief. In the interregnum Tuiva was asked to act as regent for the island. Tuiva became the controlling head of the island until it was opportune to appoint, as the new chief, the boy Ikilua.

579 The two stories of Alatakupu illustrate very well a feature shared with
152 other accounts of Pukapukan fighting: the apparent blood lust that gripped a Pukapukan crowd when it set out to kill. Little mercy was shown or expected; no courtesies were granted a dying person. Old animosities were revived and everyone not a friend became an enemy to be put out of the way without consideration. There appears to have been a boiling-over of repressed hatred, a collective running amok, which is hard to harmonize with the more usual gentle Pukapukan nature. It is likely that the killings resulted in a sort of emotional catharsis which, when finished, prepared the atoll group for a further period of peaceful and friendly village relations.

Manihiki Immigrants

167 The two Manihiki warriors mentioned in the story of the killing of
173 Alatakupu came to Pukapuka in a drift canoe from Manuyiki (Manihiki). The canoe was named Tialalunga, and in it were Tualangi and Pailoa and five women including Tuta, wife of Tualangi, an elderly woman; Tokoua; Teiua; and two other women who were drowned. This canoe is often referred to as Te Vaka-o-Tuta (The Canoe-of-Tuta).

These people set out from Lakawunga (Rakahanga) to sail to Manuyiki (Manihiki). Halfway across, a strong gale blew up; the canoe drifted and the course was lost. But for the protection of a large sail fish which swam along the windward side of the canoe, sheltering it from the worst of the seas, the canoe would have been swamped. This sail fish had been sent by the Manihiki gods after their adherents had prayed to them for protection. After many days at sea, during which the drifters kept themselves alive by eating raw fish (there was a big tuna fish in the canoe when it landed at Pukapuka), the canoe drifted to Pukapuka, coming up from the south and striking the reef outside Motu Kotawa. The people were too weak to make a good landing on this difficult reef, and coming over the reef the two women were washed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

overboard and drowned. The survivors set out to explore the reserve and ate *pulaka* tubers from the gardens. They were found a day or two later by men from Yato who went to the reserve to catch birds. The strangers were taken to Wale, well cared for and given to the several lineages to be looked after. Tata, Tualangi, and Pailoa were adopted by i Tua; hence the two men were assisting Alatakupu on the visit to the reserve. Telua was given to Yamaunga, and Tokoua to Muliwutu. The unmarried man and women soon found Pukapukan mates. The two men were killed in the fight on Ko, but Telua and Tokoua had children, and their descendants are mixed with the present Pukapukan population. (Note that the strangers had to be adopted by the paternal lineages before they could have status in Pukapukan society.)

That this drift voyage from Manihiki to Pukapuka was not exceptional is shown from a report of Gill (12,p.29) who landed on Nassau in 1862 and found there remains of a settlement of people from Manihiki, six men and one woman, who had set out in 1859 or 1860 to sail to Rakahanga and had drifted to Nassau. The castaways lived on Nassau for two years before being returned to Manihiki by a passing vessel.

First White Contact

It was during the time of Alatakupu that the first white man's ship (*papi*, a European boat with two masts) came to Pukapuka:

> The men of Pukapuka, organised on the *matakaru* basis (p. 374), went out in canoes to meet the boat. The *pilipili* coconut midrib was thrown at the strange vessel, and because it was not returned, this was taken as a sign of peace. Two men of the advance canoes scrambled up the high sides of the boat and onto the deck. These two were Tawaki, a warrior of Yalongo and Kaleva-motu, warrior of Yangalipule. Other canoes came up with mats and coconuts which were passed up to the boat to be exchanged for the white man's goods. The two reserve canoes likewise came up, and a brisk bartering was soon in progress.
>
> Profiting by the confusion on the deck, Tawaki cut away pieces of rope from the rigging and threw these into the canoe. Then he picked up wire, iron, nails, anything in fact that he could lay his hands on, and threw them overboard. Becoming more daring still, he walked up to the captain, who was smoking a pipe, and took the pipe from his mouth to inspect the strange object. The captain resented this freedom. He went below and came up with a gun (called by the Pukapukans *ngaue/iuui* because it resembles a detumescent penis). Tawaki had gone to the bow and was busily cutting off a piece of rope when the captain saw him again. He pointed his gun at Tawaki, but Tawaki did not stop. Then the captain fired and Tawaki dropped dead. The crew produced guns and drove the Pukapukans over the side. The body of Tawaki was lowered into a canoe, and the fleet sheered off from the strange vessel, which hoisted sail and slowly drew away from the island. The body of Tawaki was brought ashore amidst much weeping and buried in his own cemetery. The iron and ropes were divided among all the men of the island.

The Regency

Tuiva's regency was in general a peaceful period. He realized that much of the trouble in the time of Alatakupu was due to the fact that the old men had found time hanging heavily on their hands and invented mischief to make life more interesting. Tuiva therefore refused to admit to the old men's age grade any person who was not "crawling with age".

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It seems, however, that the comparative abundance following recovery from the effects of the seismic wave did not long continue, because the records speak of another famine in Tuiva's period. It is likely that the population was again increasing faster than the food supply, necessitating more stringent measures than usual to control the food that all might have a fair share in it. Again it seems that Tuiva's assumption of the regency was not without opposition. This was centered in the person of another Ngake man, Watumoana, a priest of the god Tulikalo, who dwelt mainly in the god house attached to the sacred enclosure of this god. Watumoana was jealous of the power of Tuiva and wished to procure some of this power for himself, or alternately to become regent of the island in place of Tuiva. The bitterness between the two men, based on their rivalry, only waited for some incident to bring them to open conflict. The story of their conflict is a favorite one of the Pukapukans. The account recorded by Talainga deserves reproduction in full because of the wealth of detail bearing on every aspect of Pukapukan culture:[1]

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Tuiva was a child of Taonga, one of the eight of Ngake. Matanga was his lineage. This was in the time after the law of *pule pae*. It was a period without a chief. Tuliayanga was dead.

Takitini was a Loto man of the Tua lineage. He had been ordered by Tuiva to guard the point of Utupoa against the group who went out along the Ngake reef and who might be up to mischief returning from Ko. It was a time of famine. The island had not yet developed well. The men of the island were few in number; they had been finished off in the *pule pae*.

The children of Tuiva went to grope for fish along the reef. Takitini watched them coming from the reef. Takitini ran forth, snapped his fingers on the tops of their heads, chased them so that they would go home. Takitini said disapprovingly, "The eyes of the thieves." The children went, told Tuiva. Tuiva did not listen. Takitini was his brother. Besides, it was he who had placed him (Takitini) to protect the point at Utupoa. These were only the words of children.

Arrived at another day, Tuiva again chased his children, saying to them, "Why do you stay doing nothing? What about us, we are hungry. Why do you not go to fetch some food for us?" The children went again to the Ngake reef. They were seen again by Takitini. Takitini again went forth. He spanked them, spearing them in the ribs with his stick. He didn't spear them really; he merely frightened them so they would not go again. The children complained again to Tuiva, "We have been whipped by Takitini; he speared us in our ribs with his weapon." Tuiva again did not listen to the telling of the children. He thought again as he had thought before.

Another day still came. He chased his children, "Why do you only sit around making yourselves hungry? Why have you not gone to get food for us?" The children refused, "We certainly will not go. Takitini spoils our skins." Tuiva objected, "Why should Takitini hurt you for no reason? I guess he was only frightening you." His children disagreed, "No, indeed, he really whips us, breaks us to pieces."

Another day came. The children went out. Takitini watched; it was clear that they were going to the reef, going on to Ko. Takitini ran to the children. He asked them, "Where are you going? You rascals, the eyes of thieves." The children protested to Takitini, "Not at all, Tuiva sent us to get something for us." Takitini answered, "What is Tuiva doing? The reserve, according to him, belongs to you, to be eaten only by you. You go back. Don't you be stubborn. I shall whip you to pieces." Takitini snapped his fingers on the backs of their heads, sent them to return home.

1. [See category 1K, pp. 395-399 -- analyst.]

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watumoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Vaka-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiligili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *hili langi* or *lo kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *futao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

Z: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for governing groups, see p. 19.]